DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 415 803 HE 030 954

AUTHOR Douglas, Katie B.
TITLE Impressions: How First-Year, African American Students Pictured a Research University. ASHE Annual Meeting Paper.
PUB DATE 1997-11-00
NOTE 38p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (22nd, Albuquerque, NM, November 6-9, 1997).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Black Students; College Environment; *College Freshmen; Educational Environment; Focus Groups; Fraternities; Higher Education; Photography; *Racial Factors; Research Universities; Residential Colleges; School Size; Social Integration; Sororities; *Student Attitudes; *Student College Relationship; Theories
IDENTIFIERS African Americans; *ASHE Annual Meeting

ABSTRACT

In this study 10 first-year African American students (five men and five women) took photographs that illustrated their perceptions of the predominantly white research university they attended and discussed their pictures in subsequent individual and focus group interviews. Two theoretical frameworks provided the structure for the analysis: personal-environment interaction theory and symbolic interactionism. Data analysis and interpretation identified six themes: (1) natural, physical aspects; (2) institutional size; (3) racial consciousness; (4) Greek-letter organizations; (5) racial and cultural interactions; and (6) preparation for the future. Some of the positive facets of the campus environment pictured and discussed included interactions with faculty; involvement in student organizations; specific courses in which the students were enrolled, especially the Afro-American studies classes; and the residence hall climate. Negative factors identified included the underrepresentation of African American students, faculty, and staff; the prevalence of voluntary racial and cultural separation; and a perceived lack of receptivity by others in the university community. Implications of the study for research, practice, and policy are drawn. (Contains 78 references.) (DB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 415 803

Impressions: How First-Year, African American Students Pictured a Research University

Katie B. Douglas

University of Rhode Island

Department of Human Development & Family Studies
Transition Center, 2 Lower College Rd.
Kingston, RI 02881
Telephone: (401) 874-5487
E-mail: kdouglas@uriacc.uri.edu

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

ASHE

HE 030 954

Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Albuquerque, NM, November 1997.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ASHE

ASSOCIATION
FOR THE
STUDY OF
HIGHER EDUCATION

Texas A&M University
Department of Educational
Administration
College Station, TX 77843
(409) 845-0393

This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, November 6-9, 1997. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

Abstract

This study describes first-year, African American students' impressions of a predominantly white, research university. Ten undergraduates photographed their impressions of the university and discussed their pictures in subsequent interviews. Six themes emerged and included perceptions about the physical environment, racial and cultural interactions, Greek-letter organizations, and preparation for the future.

Since the end of World War II, the demographic characteristics of undergraduates attending colleges and universities in the United States have become increasingly diverse. Enrollments by students of color have grown, especially at predominantly white, public institutions (Fleming, 1984; Willie & Cunnigen, 1981). Within the broad rubric "students of color," African Americans have been continually underrepresented in graduation rates (Allen, 1991; Astone & Nunez-Wormack, 1990; Carter & Wilson, 1996, 1997; Fleming, 1984; Gose, 1997; Mow & Nettles, 1990; Willie & Cunnigen, 1981) and have reported perceiving the environments at predominantly white colleges and universities as unwelcoming, if not hostile (Allen, 1991, 1996; Astone & Nunez-Wormack, 1990; Clay & Sherrill, 1991; Crosson, 1988; Dalton, 1991; D'Souza, 1992; Ehrlich, 1990; Fleming, 1984; Green, 1989; Hurtado, 1992; Malaney & Shively, 1995; Mow & Nettles, 1990). While numerous quantitative studies designed to assess students' perceptions of campus environments were conducted throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, few current studies have used qualitative research to examine the range of perceptions within groups of students.

If perceptions of African American students at predominantly white institutions of higher education can be vividly described and the meanings of these perceptions explored, such institutions can better strive to enhance the quality of campus life for African American students and seek to improve graduation rates. Also, because the majority of students who leave

institutions of higher education do so during or immediately after their first year of study (Feldman & Newcomb, 1969/1994; Levitz & Noel, 1989; Tinto, 1993), it is especially important to understand the first-year student experience. Tinto (1993) wrote, "The character of one's experience in that [first] year does much to shape subsequent persistence" (p. 14).

The purpose of this study was to describe first-year, African American students' impressions of the campus environment at a predominantly white, research university and to explore the meanings of these perceptions. In addition, the factors these students attributed to the formation of these impressions were examined.

The following research questions were explored in this study.

1. What was the range of first-year, African American undergraduates' impressions of the campus environment at a predominantly white, public university?
2. What meanings did these students give to their impressions of the campus environment?
3. To what did these students attribute the formation of their impressions?

Guiding Frameworks

Two theoretical frameworks provided a focus for and guide to this study: person-environment interaction theories that have been derived from and applied in higher education settings and symbolic interactionism. Some of the applications of these person-environment theories have involved the use of photography as a means of collecting data (Banning 1992a, 1992b; Perka, Matherly, Fishman, & Ridge, 1992).

The combining of Lewin's (1936) ideas about behavior being a function of the interaction between people and their environments *[B=f(P X E)]* with Sanford's (1962, 1966) ideas of challenge needing to be balanced with support *[C/S]* is widely-cited by those who study campus

environments (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Rodgers, 1990). According to Pascarella and Terenzini (1991), person-environment interaction theories that relate to institutions of higher education can be divided into at least three subcategories: (a) physical models, (b) human aggregate models, and (c) perceptual models. Chickering and Reisser (1993) offer a fourth subcategory: campus ecology. Although all four subcategories contribute to an understanding of person-environment interaction in higher education settings in the United States, the perceptual models (e.g., Moos, 1976/1986, 1979; Stern, 1970; Pervin, 1967, 1968a, 1968b) provided the most useful theoretical framework for this study because they are grounded in "meaning-making" and phenomenological perspectives. Of particular utility were the concepts of transactional relationships between people and their environments, and that "individual and collective perceptions of an environment are critical in understanding how individuals are likely to react to that environment" (Strange, 1991, p. 176).

Symbolic interactionism, an approach within U.S. sociology that emphasizes the meanings people make of symbols and things through social interactions (Attinasi, 1989; Blumer, 1969; Denzin, 1989; Jary & Jary, 1991; Mead, 1934), also provided a basis for using phenomenologically-oriented person-environment interaction theories as well as the inductive approach to research that is associated with qualitative inquiry.

A unique aspect of this study was that it relied on the use of photography as a means for data collection. Empirically, photographs have been used within qualitative research in two ways: as images produced by the researcher and as images produced by research participants (Cheatwood & Stasz, 1979; Collier, 1979; Collier & Collier, 1986; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Harper, 1987, 1988, 1994). Researchers refer to pictures produced by study participants as

"reflexive photographs" (Harper, 1988), and interviews that are conducted about such photographs often are referred to as "photo elicitation interviews" (Blinn-Pike & Eyring, 1993; Collier & Collier, 1986; Harper, 1987). Harper (1988) wrote, "In the reflexive photographic method, the subject shares in the definition of meaning; thus, the definitions are said to 'reflect back' from the subject" (pp. 64-65). In this study, participants produced reflexive photographs as part of the inquiry process and participated in photo elicitation interviews.

Participants and Study Site

Five first-year, African American women and five first-year, African American men participated in this study. The criteria used for selecting the ten study participants were designed to seek variety from within the overall group of first-time, first-year, African American students enrolled during Fall Semester 1995 at a predominantly white U.S. higher education institution considered a Research University I by the 1994 Carnegie classifications ("Carnegie Foundation's Classifications," 1994). Stake (1994) wrote, "The choice [of criterion] is made, assuring variety but not necessarily representativeness. . . . Here, too, the primary criterion is opportunity to learn" (p. 244). The criteria utilized for selecting study participants were as follows: a variety of in-state and out-of-state hometown locations, a variety of on-campus residential settings (including an Afrocentric living-learning center), and affiliation or non-affiliation with the university's programs linked primarily with minority undergraduate student recruitment and retention.

In addition, all but two of the participants were first-generation college students, although four of the first-generation students said they had siblings and parents who currently were attending other institutions of higher education. The most common intended major was business, and eight of the participants wanted eventually to earn master's, law, or doctoral degrees. The

mean of the first-semester course grades of the ten participants in this study was 3.2, which was not surprising since five of the students are affiliated with an institution-specific program for minority students that places an emphasis on scholastic achievement. However, this mean grade point average needs to be juxtaposed to the following data provided by institution's Office of the Registrar (1996): the mean grade point average of all students classified as freshman (i.e., having 25 or fewer academic credit hours) during this same period of enrollment (i.e., Fall Semester 1995) was 2.8.

Each student participating in this study was given the opportunity to select a pseudonym for use when this study is presented in written or oral forms. The five women are referred to as follows: Kim, Tiffany, Marie, Simone, and Monique. The five men are referred to as follows: James, Daniel, Jerome, Elmalik, and Xavier. With the exception of Jerome, who has not returned to this institution since completing his second semester of enrollment, these students still are in attendance at this university.

Willsfield University (WU), the pseudonym for the site at which this study was conducted, is located in the Midwest region of the United States. Willsfield is located in a community of about 60,000 and is about a one-hour's drive from a major metropolitan area. The physical grounds at Willsfield cover over 1,800 acres. Throughout the 1990s, Willsfield's total enrollment has been approximately 35,000 students, with about 26,000 of these students considered undergraduates. African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans comprised 9.2% of the total student enrollment during the academic year in which this study was conducted (i.e., 1995-96), with 4% categorized as African Americans (Office of the Registrar, 1995).

Data Collection and Analysis

The undergraduates who agreed to participate generated data by doing the following: (a) meeting for an one-hour initial interview and completing a background questionnaire at the end of the tenth week of Fall Semester 1995; (b) taking photographs with a 27-exposure, disposable camera with a built-in flash and pre-loaded color film and recording thoughts in a notebook during the eleventh-twelfth weeks of the semester; (c) participating in a two-hour, semi-structured photo elicitation individual interview during the fourteen or fifteen weeks; and (d) participating in a two-hour, semi-structured, focus group interview and completing a follow-up questionnaire at the end of the third week of Spring Semester 1996.

The task participants were asked to complete when they received their cameras was as follows: *Take pictures that will illustrate your impressions of Willsfield University or that will help you to describe your impressions.* In addition, the participants were asked to record in the notebooks that also were provided to them the following: the day of the week and time of day, what they were photographing in each specific frame of film, what this photo meant to them and what thoughts and feelings they had that were related to that impression, and what they thought might have influenced those thoughts and feelings.

As the study participants returned from November (i.e., Thanksgiving) Break, they were given a set of prints of their photographs as well as a photo album. Participants were asked to arrange the photographs in the album in any way in which they would like to discuss them with me and to bring them to individual photo elicitation interviews. These interviews began by my asking the participant to describe each of the photos in his or her album to me. After the students had finished describing their photos and talking about what the images meant to them, I asked if

they had impressions that they could not express visually in a photograph or if they had additional impressions that had come to mind since taking the pictures. Next, I asked the participants what were some of their strongest impressions and followed up by asking if they could categorize these impressions as positive, negative, or neutral. Following this discussion, I asked the participants the rationale for the arrangement of their photos in the album and asked how, if at all, their impressions were impacting their behavior.

Following the individual photo elicitation interviews, I conducted a preliminary analysis of the data that I collected thus far. As a result of this data analysis, I developed some preliminary constructs about the students' impressions of WU. Feedback about these constructs was obtained from the students during focus groups that were held at the start of Spring Semester 1996. Following the focus groups, I prepared all of the data for in-depth analysis.

Lincoln and Guba (1985), among others, also discussed the concepts of "unitizing" and "categorizing" as a means of conducting such data analysis. A unit is a small piece of information (a phrase, sentence, or paragraph) which can provide some type of relevant information to the researcher while remaining autonomous of additional data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Wolcott, 1990). After units are identified from the data, the categorization process, or the clustering of these units into broader constructs, begins. Eventually, these constructs are linked and themes emerge.

To assist with data analysis in this study, I used the computer software package Folio VIEWS Infobase Production Kit 3.11. This computer software package assisted me in the mechanical tasks of applying multiple codes to a single unit of data and sorting coded data units.

After completing the coding and sorting of units of data, I began to cluster the codes into broader constructs. Eventually, six themes emerged from these constructs. In developing themes, I looked for ideas that were both similar as well as different across the group of study participants.

Six Themes

These six themes, or overarching perceptions, that emerged from data analysis and interpretations were related to the following dimensions of Willsfield: (a) natural, physical aspects; (b) institutional size; (c) racial consciousness; (d) Greek-letter organizations; (e) racial and cultural interactions; and (f) preparation for the future. These themes are not intended to be mutually-exclusive categories. Rather, some of the themes contain aspects that are closed related to each other.

Natural, Physical Aspects

Photograph 1: "A Little Path." Taken by Simone.

"Again, this photo represents some of the beauty of WU." *From Simone's notebook.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Willsfield University's campus is beautiful. "It makes it more comfortable being here seeing the beautiful scenery and everything," James said when talking about his photographs of a campus baseball diamond, a sculpture in front of the art museum, and moss growing on the side of an academic building. James noted:

> It's a beautiful establishment and I guess you want your studies to reflect kinda what your campus looks like. This is an outstanding campus--you know it looks beautiful--and the kids that go here, they're really outstanding also. They really push themselves in their studies and everything. I guess it kinda motivates me to do better.

James' sentiments were shared by a number of the participants, particularly the women.

Institutional Size

Photograph 2: "Bike." Taken by Marie.

"Best way to get around WU--it's a big campus!" *From Marie's notebook.*

Willsfield is a big university. Approximately 35,000 students attend this Research I institution, with about 26,000 of those being categorized as undergraduates. The size of the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

student body as well as the physical land mass that is covered by this campus were seen as overwhelming to some of the students and as ensuring opportunities by others. The men who participated in this study tended to equate the institution's large size with greater opportunities. By the start of their second full semester, knowing how to get from place to place, learning how the bus system operated, making friends, and becoming involved on campus resulted in WU feeling like it was smaller to study participants.

Racial Consciousness

Photograph 3: **Braided Hair. Taken by Monique.**

> "I have to do my hair like this because there is no place on campus for blacks to get their hair done." *From Monique's notebook.*

The African American students are highly conscious of their skin color while at Willsfield University. Elmalik stated, "When I go out on campus, it seems like that I wear my skin color--with a magnifying glass--when I go out. It's like I, all of a sudden, black is just in my

head." Almost all of the students in this study talked about an incident where they felt singled out because of the color of their skin. The students also talked about how the small number of African Americans on campus made them more conscious of their race. The underrepresentation of African Americans on campus motivated some students to learn more about their heritage, and they viewed this as a positive outcome of being in a predominantly white environment.

Greek-Letter Organizations

Photograph 4: Fraternity House [Name of fraternity is blurred.]
Taken by Simone.

> "This house is absolutely beautiful! My parents' house doesn't even compare to this one. White kids can come to school and virtually pick which mansion they want to live in. Wow! I'm still worried about when I'll be able to pay the rest of my bursar bill." *From Simone's notebook.*

Willsfield University is heavily influenced by Greek-letter organizations. While approximately 20% of the undergraduates on this campus are involved with Greek-letter organizations, nearly every study participant photographed and commented upon the visibility and

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

pervasiveness of Greek-letter organizations, and especially the presence of predominately white houses for both sororities and fraternities. Simone said:

> I'm just looking around at all these huge mansions. These houses are absolutely gorgeous and I'm like, how can they afford to live in a house like that--to have a house like this with their name on it? They live here and for generations. Their parents have lived here, and their grandparents and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, whatever. It's just amazing. I don't understand that. There are black fraternities and sororities. There's eight: four fraternities and four sororities and only one of them has a house and actually they don't even have their house anymore. So that's kind of discouraging.

The students also reported that many of the social activities organized primarily for African American students attending Willsfield are planned by the historically black fraternities and sororities.

Racial and Cultural Interactions

Photograph 5: "I'm not prejudice. Some of my best friends are black."
Taken by Elmalik.

> "People who says things like that, they'll basically be saying one thing, but contradicting themselves. 'Okay, well I have a Black friend,' but they want to be

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

> separatists.' You know what I'm saying? And so I think that that's actually what the comment is meaning right there." *From a photo elicitation interview with Elmalik.*

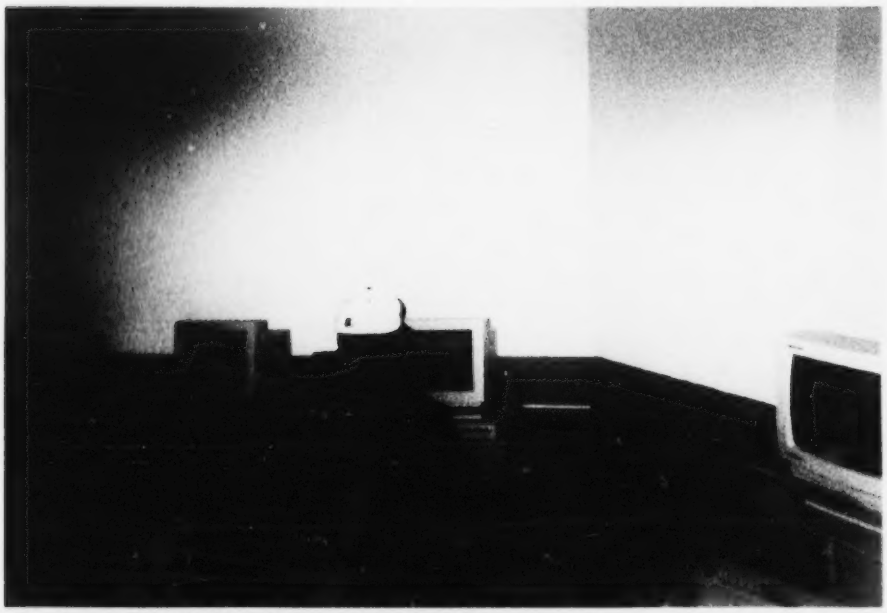
Voluntary racial and cultural separation is prevalent at Willsfield University. Voluntary separation according to racial and cultural categorizations among members of the campus community was surprising to some of the study's participants and seemed "natural," or like a reflection of U.S. society, to others. While two of the students referred to this as segregation, others felt "separation" or "a lack of mingling among racial groups" was more reflective of their impressions. All the students felt this separation or segregation was limiting and that it took place primarily in out-of-class settings. The students reported that one of the only times they see substantial interactions among individuals from various racial backgrounds is either in class or in out-of-class settings in which class projects are being worked on by instructor-assigned groups of students

.Preparation for the Future

Willsfield University is preparing the students appropriately, if not well, for their futures. Several students took photographs of academics buildings and computer labs to show the belief that they are being prepared for their future careers at WU. This was especially prevalent among those who intended to major in business. Also, some of the students talked about the personal development they knew they were engaged in and how a great deal of this growth did not have direct connections to their academic experiences. Elmalik said, "I have found that 90% of what you learn is not in class." He also commented:

> I have developed a lot this semester. I am surprised how much I have grown . . . . And I'm glad that I'm struggling with developing myself now instead of getting the

grades academically and being, later on in life, struggling with myself or my development later.



Photograph 6: Technology. Taken by Jerome.

"Modern technology is an important part of education as seen here with this student working on his homework." *From Jerome's notebook.*

Impression Formation

The most common response about what contributed to the formation of the students' impressions was interactions with or observations about other people. Many impression-shaping interactions occurred with other WU students; however, participants also talked about their previous interactions with high school teachers and family members. Some study participants spoke about how their personality characteristics, such as a need for order or a love of nature, influenced their impressions about Willsfield. Some students spoke about how societal norms and stereotypes influenced the formation of certain perceptions about Willsfield.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Implications and Recommendations

While the purpose of this study was to describe first-year, African American students' impressions of the campus environment at Willsfield University, a predominantly white, public, research university, through the exploration of the meanings of these perceptions some specific insights were gained about aspects of the campus environment that especially impacted these students in both positive and negative ways.

Some of the positive facets of the campus environment are perceptions about and interactions with faculty, whom the students defined as any person who led a class, and involvement in student organizations. It is noteworthy that the study participants did not distinguish among individual's academic ranks or formally appointed positions at the university. Generally, the students are impressed with how approachable faculty seem and how willing they are to give personal attention to individual students. This satisfaction with faculty appeared to enhance the students' academic integration at Willsfield and reduced some of the negative aspects associated with Willsfield's large size. Although the students seldom sought out individual faculty members for assistance or support, feeling as though they could approach and trust their instructors helped ease anxiety about academic performance. Social integration at Willsfield is enhanced for the students by involvement in student organizations. Both academic and social integration are very important to the participants in this study, although the women spoke more adamantly about the social aspects of campus life at Willsfield.

Other positive aspects of the Willsfield campus environment are specific courses that the students found to be affirming of their new or transitional status at the Willsfield campus as well as those in which they are learning more about their African American heritage. Several students

spoke about how much they liked and appreciated courses they were enrolled in as a result of being affiliated with a specific program at Willsfield. For example, some of the students spoke about a course they needed to enroll in because they were a part of the Minority Scholars Program. One man referred to his colleagues in this course as "my minority support group." The two students who resided in the Afrocentric living-learning center spoke about how being enrolled in a required course that is affiliated with this on-campus, residential setting assisted them in their transitions to WU and helped them to establish a sense of community with others at the university. In addition to these courses, students spoke highly of Afro-American Studies classes. They enjoyed both learning about their African American heritage as well as being able to interact with the African American professors who taught these classes. One student noted that she thought it was "neat" that instructors did not have to be African American to teach these courses; rather, she just happened to have an African American instructor for her Afro-American literature course.

Another positive aspect at Willsfield is that the students generally are satisfied with the climate on their specific floors in the residence halls and spoke highly of the students who were in formal leadership positions in the residence halls. The ability to be in a "double single," or a residence hall room that originally was designed for two people but one person could live in this room for an additional fee, was especially appealing to some of the students. The chance to have a "double single" was available to a large number of students during the 1995-96 academic year because Willsfield experienced a decline in the number of students residing on campus. Within a few weeks after the start of Fall Semester 1995, only one of the women and two of the men in this study had roommates. Overall, the students said they really liked not having a roommate so that

they could keep to their own schedules without begin concerned about disturbing--or being disturbed by--a roommate; however, they liked living in an on-campus residential community.

The negative facets of the campus environment generally centered on issues related to social integration. The prevalence of voluntary racial and cultural separation at Willsfield University is highly troublesome to a number of the students. This separation included not only a lack of mingling between students from different racial or ethnic backgrounds but also the formation of cliques within the African American student community. Greek-letter organizations generally seemed to contribute to these dynamics of separation and clique formation; however, the students did not see all aspects of "Greek life" as negative. The social and community service activities organized by the historically black fraternities and sororities provide opportunities for meeting people and becoming involved at Willsfield.

The underrepresentation of African American students, faculty, and staff is another negative aspect of the campus environment at Willsfield, although the students also pointed out the limited number of African Americans heightened their consciousness about a variety of issues that face individuals in the African American community. The lack of receptivity by others in the Willsfield community, as demonstrated through the number of race-related incidents the students spoke about, is disturbing. The students in this study, however, typically saw the "bright side" of the negative facets of the Willsfield campus. Thinking about the negative, they reported, only would be determinantal to achieving their goals.

In addition to gaining some specific insights about aspects of the campus environment that especially impacted these students in both positive and negative ways, implications can be further discussed as well as recommendations made in relationship to research, practice, and policy.

Research

As Saddlemire (1996) and Brown (1992, 1994) have noted, often times African American students are viewed as a collective entity, or a homogeneous group, on predominantly white college and university campuses. Pounds (1989) wrote, "Today's black college freshmen vary tremendously in social class, economic status, values, needs, and traditions" (p. 277). This diversity within the African American community has been present since even before Black enrollments began to increase at predominantly white institutions of higher education. The tendency of many Whites, however, to cluster African Americans in a group also has been present for just as long. Blackburn, Gamson, and Peterson (1978) wrote:

> Even in the early period of black enrollment increase [on predominantly white campuses], there was diversity among blacks in social class, interests, politics, and styles of life. Not all were politically active; some became involved in black fraternities and sororities and others in nonpolitical student organizations such as choirs and athletic teams. But from the vantage of the whites who did not know them well, blacks formed a group. (p. 318)

A contribution of this study is that it assists in the breaking down of possible stereotypes regarding the experiences of African American undergraduates who attend predominantly white institutions of higher education in the U.S. The students who participated in this study each had unique perceptions of Willsfield and each formed his or her impressions in different ways. As Lang (1993) noted:

> Just like their white counterparts, contemporary black college students come from diverse backgrounds, heterogeneous communities, and the total spectrum of social and socioeconomic statuses. In other words, we can no longer assume that 'The Black Experience' means the same thing to all black students. (pp. 10-11)

Additional studies are needed that explore in detail the experiences of African American students on predominantly white campuses. These are needed not only to continue to debunk the

myth of African American homogeneity (Brown, 1994) but also to help learn more about how various students from non-dominant U.S. populations are experiencing the environments on college and university campuses. Researchers who have conducted studies on students of color have pointed out that because they saw differences among the various racial or ethnic groups of students in their studies (i.e., African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans), research is needed that examines groups of students that share similar racial or ethnic backgrounds (Livingston & Stewart, 1987; Mayo, Murguia, & Padilla, 1995). Often times, data from minority students are clustered and analyzed collectively, and then compared with aggregate data from White students. More studies are needed that provide in-depth research about students from within the same racial or ethnic group.

This study also showed the need for longitudinal research. By the time the focus groups took place (i.e., at the beginning of the students' second full semester), some of the students who had initially spoken in mostly positive ways about Willsfield were commenting on some of the more negative aspects of the campus environment. For example, several students told me in focus groups about incidents related to their race that they had heard about or were involved with that were leading to feelings of uneasiness about Willsfield. Also, two of the women were highly frustrated about their continued dissatisfaction with the social aspects of campus life at Willsfield.

During the fall semester, the students seemed more apt to explain some of their unpleasant experiences at Willsfield to transition anxieties. This was not the case, however, by the start of the spring semester. Sedlacek (1987) noted in an article that summarized 20 years of research on Black students at predominantly white colleges and universities, "Longitudinal studies over time or even cross-sectional studies done the same way in the same place are not common" (p. 490).

Such studies would help contribute to theories about student departure and persistence. For example, without follow up with these students, it would not be known that one of the students, Jerome, did not return to WU for his sophomore year. Will Jerome eventually return to Willsfield or enroll at another postsecondary institution? Will the remaining nine participants graduate from Willsfield? What will be their perceptions of WU when they leave the institution? What will be some of the most memorable aspects of the experiences they have had at Willsfield? These questions cannot be addressed without longitudinal research.

Practice

Implications and recommendations for practice are targeted toward the Willsfield campus. Those wanting to apply these recommendations to other institutions of higher education in the U.S. will need to consider the issue of transferability. Transferability is the degree of similarity between the context in which the research was conducted and the context in which a reader wants to apply data interpretations.

Willsfield needs to continue to support the current programs linked primarily with minority undergraduate student recruitment and retention as well as other initiatives that are targeted toward African American students because they are having a positive impact on the academic and social integration of these students at WU. While the students noted changes or improvements could always be made in these programs or initiatives, the sense of community established as a result of being affiliated with these programs helped ease the transition to WU. Sedlacek (1987) wrote:

> Because of racism, Blacks have been excluded historically from being full participants in many of the White-oriented communities that have developed in the United States and in the educational system. Thus, Blacks need a supportive group

> that can give them the advice, counsel, and orientation to sustain them as they confront the larger, often hostile systems they must negotiate. (p. 488)

In particular, the classes that accompany these programs and initiatives should be supported by the institution because they especially contribute to a sense of community among the students as well as to both academic and social integration.

One aspect of the initiatives linked with minority undergraduate student recruitment and retention programs needs to be reviewed: mentoring programs. Several students involved with mentoring programs commented upon the current structure of assigning both a peer and faculty or staff mentor to each program participant at the start of their affiliation with the program. Some of the students noted what they really needed was a "peer friend," and not people who were merely "checking up on me." Griffin (1992) noted, "As students move from their freshman and sophomore years to their junior and senior years, they place less emphasis on their social integration and more on their academic integration" (p. 27). Perhaps it would be more useful for the students to focus on developing a relationship with an upperclass peer mentor who could introduce them, later in their careers at Willsfield, to a faculty or staff mentor.

Mentoring programs at Willsfield also could be strengthened if there were more African American faculty, staff, and students on the campus who could be invited and would be willing to participate. Nearly all the students talked about noticing the limited number of African American faculty and staff at Willsfield. Sedlacek (1987) wrote:

> Absence of powerful Black figures as role models has strong effects on the feelings of loneliness and isolation of Blacks. The lack of a variety of viewpoints or cultural perspectives relevant to Black students can also affect their learning, development, and identification with the institution. (p. 487)

As Stage and Manning (1992) noted, however, it is not only the responsibility of multicultural group members to assist diverse students. Rather, those who share the characteristics of the dominant culture also need to be active in helping to create a welcoming environment for all students.

Regarding the need to recruit and retain additional African American students to Willsfield, there is a specific need for more African American students who are male. Currently, the gender ratio between African American female and male students is 61% to 39% respectively. Fleming (1984) discussed that studies have shown the need for "a maximum of black students with a balanced sex ratio" (p. 156) in order to help create an environment at predominantly white institutions of higher education that will enhance the learning and development of African American students.

Nine of the ten students in this study noted how important involvement in a campus organization was to their success at Willsfield. Sedlacek (1987) wrote, "Successful Black students have had successful leadership experiences" (p. 489). Willsfield needs to ensure that a variety of involvement opportunities remain readily accessible to first-year African American students. Also, the importance of this involvement can be emphasized by asking students to sign up for an organization during new student orientation as well as by providing co-curricular transcripts as documentation of their involvement at WU.

Willsfield needs to recognize that many of these students' perceptions of the social aspects of campus life for African American undergraduates at WU are negative, particularly among the females. Greater involvement with creating and supporting social functions by faculty and staff needs to be occurring at Willsfield, and these faculty and staff need to be assisting with developing

opportunities that bring students from different racial or cultural backgrounds together in social settings. Three of the students in this study commented on how one of the most enjoyable experiences they had at Willsfield during the fall semester was at a dinner and dance that a diverse group of students, staff, and faculty attended--including the president of the university.

Currently, many of the social aspects of campus life at Willsfield are dominated by Greek-letter organizations. More attention needs to be given to the influence of Greek-letter organizations at Willsfield. Practices and policies related to rush, social events, and publicity in the student newspaper need to be reviewed. For example, the emphasis on heavy drinking at many of the parties organized by predominantly white Greek-letter organizations is unappealing to nearly all of the participants in this study. Also, the practice of needing to be on a guest list to attend certain social functions at predominantly white sororities or fraternities limits the amount of social interaction between Blacks and Whites.

Because the students in this study reported that students from different racial or cultural backgrounds would interact if they were assigned to groups in order to complete course-related requirements, faculty at Willsfield should be encouraged to incorporate structured group experiences into their courses. Also, faculty should be encouraged to incorporate instructional material that is informative about and relevant to the experiences of a variety of people. Most of the students in this study said they learned about their African American heritage only if they sought it at Willsfield. By limiting exposure about a diversity of people to certain classes, the learning and development of all students is stifled. Green (1989) noted that "majority students are often unaware of the experiences of minorities on campus" (p. 114). By infusing perspectives

from diverse individuals throughout the curriculum, the learning of majority and non-majority students can be enhanced.

Also, perspectives from diverse individuals need to be woven through co-curricular opportunities that are targeted toward a broader student audience. Green (1989) wrote:

> Minority speakers, performers, and participants in campus activities will enrich the event and constitute an important minority presence on campus. It is also important that minority speakers and visitors be associated with a wide variety of issues and topics, and not only with minority issues. (p. 116)

The important roles that faculty and peers played in reducing the psychological size of Willsfield needs to be recognized, promoted, and rewarded. Davis (1991) wrote, "Black students on white campuses who have good relations with faculty have never seriously considered dropping out of school and have greater satisfaction with their campus lives" (p. 154). The first-year students in this study were satisfied with the accessibility of the faculty at Willsfield. Also, it should be noted that to these students, "faculty" was any person who led a class. Consequently, graduate students, student affairs professionals, and others without faculty rank at Willsfield need to know of the importance of this perception to the first-year, African American students at WU.

Policy

Three implications for policy arose from this study, with two of the implications geared toward institutional-level policies and one of these implications linked to the current debates taking place at many levels (e.g., institutional, state, national) about affirmative action.

The first implication is the need for institutions of higher education to have not only policies but also practices that are student centered. Hurtado (1992), in writing about findings

from a study that used longitudinal student data from the 1989 Follow-up Survey to the 1985 Freshman Survey, noted "Across all [racial or ethnic] groups, students perceive low racial tension at institutions with high student-centered priorities" (p. 557). She elaborated, "For example, institutions may devote more attention to student-centered approaches that involve faculty in both the personal and academic development of students. This approach may both reduce racial tension and improve social and academic outcomes for students" (p. 562). Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) wrote:

> The environmental factors that maximize persistence and educational attainment include a peer culture in which students develop close on-campus friendships, participate frequently in college-sponsored activities, and perceive their college to be highly concerned about the individual student, as well as a college emphasis on supportive services (including advising, orientation, and individualized general education courses that develop academic survival skills). (p. 604)

Kuh, Douglas, Lund, and Ramin-Gyurnek (1994) provided six general recommendations that institutions of higher education need to consider in order to become or remain student centered. These are as follows:

1. Cultivate an ethos of learning throughout the institution.
2. Address the importance of out-of-class experiences explicitly in the institution's mission.
3. Establish a holistic approach to talent development as the institution's philosophy of undergraduate education.
4. Periodically assess the impact of the out-of-class environments on students.
5. Develop a common view of "what matters" in undergraduate education.

6. Attempt to shape the student culture in ways that will foster responsible behavior and valued outcomes of college.

Another implication for policy at the institution level is the need to have a curriculum reflective of the diversity in U.S. society, which in turn means being inclusive of a variety of perspectives from around the globe. Banks (1991) wrote:

> Most reports urging educational reform in the 1980s paid scant attention to helping citizens develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary to function effectively in a nation and world increasingly diverse ethnically, racially, and culturally. (p. 101)

Several studies, including this one, have shown the limiting impact that a curriculum based on one dominant frame of reference can have on all students. Institutions need to be engaged in dialogues about policies and practices that will lead to a more inclusive curriculum. Banks (1991) emphasized, "It is imperative that curricula be transformed to help students view concepts, issues and problems from diverse cultural perspectives"(p. 104).

This study also has implications that are connected with debates that have intensified during the 1990s about the appropriateness and effectiveness of affirmative action policies (see Myers, 1997; see Tierney, 1997). In the fourteenth annual status report *Minorities in Higher Education,* Carter and Wilson (1996) wrote, "The concept of affirmative action suffers much misunderstanding--by politicians and policymakers, the general public, and the media" (p. 45). This confusion about affirmative action persists on many college and university campuses. In *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1995* (Higher Education Research Institute), it is reported that 70% of the students classified as college freshmen during the fall of 1995, support

the use of race in admission decisions; however, 50% of students are in support of using "affirmative action" in these same decisions.

Affirmative action has become a catch phrase for nearly any initiative that is associated with race or ethnicity, and has developed questionable--if not negative--connotations. Brown (1996) wrote:

> It's no secret that affirmative action is under attack these days. One hears talk of 'reverse discrimination,' 'quotas,' and 'preferences' and statements like 'affirmative action means selecting unqualified people' and 'affirmative action demeans the people it's supposed to help.' Allegations like these, unexamined, offend the sense of fairness in all of us; this may be why they have such a visceral appeal in a political environment constrained and conditioned by the sound bite. At the root of the matter, however, is a reality of inequality more subtle and complex by far that the political discourse of the day would have us believe. (p. 10).

Reflected not only in the differential attrition rates between African American and White students at most predominantly white institutions of higher education in the U.S. (including Willsfield) but also in reports about the quality of campus life at many of these same institutions is a need for programs and activities that take into account the diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds of students. In addition, the limited presence of African American faculty and staff are demonstrative of societal norms. Wilson (1996) reported, "Many [college students] believe that racism no longer exists in the United States, that it was their parents' generation's problem" (p. 5). As Xavier, a participant in this study noted, "Thirty years of affirmative action can never make up for 300 years of oppression."

Concluding Thoughts

This study has described ten first-year, African American students' impressions of a predominantly white, public, research university in the Midwest region of the United States. While

the meanings of specific impressions were highly individualized and had varying impacts on each of the students in this study, six overall themes were found. It is my hope that the implications related to these themes can assist in the development of practices and policies that strive to enhance the quality of campus life for African American students as well as seek to improve such students' persistence and graduation rates.

Also, it is my hope that this study contributes to the breaking down of possible stereotypes regarding African American undergraduates who attend predominantly white institutions in the U.S. as well as stimulate further research. In the introduction to *The Inclusive University: A New Environment for Higher Education* (1993), the members of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' Committee on Policy and Racial Justice wrote:

> The inclusive university will be a hospitable, engaging, and supportive place that provides increased opportunities for black students. But that is not all that will be achieved. Just as the reforms won by the black-led civil rights movement a generation ago improved life chances for minorities and women, and thus benefitted the entire society, so these reforms in higher education will widen educational opportunities for other historically disadvantaged groups as well as blacks. To the extent that these purposes are realized, the education levels and productivity of the next generation of adults will be enhanced and the entire society will gain, at home and in its dealings with other nations. (p. 2)

It is my hope that Willsfield as well as many other predominantly white institutions of higher education in the U.S. soon come to fulfill this vision of being an inclusive university.

References

Allen, W. R. (1991). Introduction. In W. R. Allen, E. G. Epps, & N. Z. Haniff (Eds.), College in black and white: African American students in predominantly white and in historically black public universities (pp. 1-14). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Allen, W. R. (1996). Improving Black student access and achievement in higher education. In C. Turner, M. Garcia, A. Nora, & L. I. Rendon (Eds.), Racial and ethnic diversity in higher education (pp. 179-188). Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster.

Astone, B., & Nunez-Wormack, E. (1990). Pursuing diversity: Recruiting college minority students (ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 7). Washington, DC: The George Washington University, School of Education and Human Development.

Attinasi, L. C., Jr. (1989) Getting in: Mexican Americans' perceptions of university attendance and the implications for freshman year persistence. Journal of Higher Education, 60, 247-277.

Banks, J. A. (1991). Multicultural literacy and curriculum reform. Educational Horizons Quarterly, Spring, 135-140.

Banning, J. (1992a). Visual anthropology: Viewing the campus ecology for messages of sexism. The Campus Ecologist, 10(1), 1-4.

Banning, J. (1992b). Viewing the campus ecology for messages about Hispanic/Latino culture. The Campus Ecologist, 10(4), 1-4.

Blackburn, R. T., Gamson, Z. F., & Peterson, M. W. (1978). The meaning of response: Current and future questions. In M. W. Peterson, R. T. Blackburn, Z. F. Gamson, C. H. Arce, R. W. Davenport, & J. R. Mingle, Black students on white campuses: The impacts of increased black enrollments (pp. 309-321). Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan.

Blinn-Pike, L. M., & Eyring, M. (1993). A model for teaching about photographic research methods: Presentation, critique and revision. In R. M. Boonzajer Flaes & D. Harper (Eds.), Eyes across the water two: Essays on visual anthropology and sociology (pp. 105-117). Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Blumer, H. (1969). Symbolic interactionism: Perspectives and method. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1992). Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and method (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Brown, O. G. (1992). Through their own eyes: African American students' perceptions of their academic and social experiences at a predominantly white research university (Doctoral dissertation, [Willsfield University], 1992).

Brown, O. G. (1994). Debunking the myth: Stories of African American university students. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa.

Brown, S. E. (1996). The case for affirmative action in higher education. About Campus, May-June, 10-15.

Carnegie Foundation's classification of 3,600 institutions of higher education. (1994, April 6). The Chronicle of Higher Education, pp. A18-A25.

Carter, D. J., & Wilson, R. (1996). Minorities in Higher Education (1995-96, Fourteen Annual Status Report). Washington, DC: Office of Minorities in Higher Education of the American Council on Education.

Carter, D. J., & Wilson, R. (1997). Minorities in Higher Education (1996-1997, Fifteenth Annual Status Report). Washington, DC: Office of Minorities in Higher Education of the American Council on Education.

Cheatwood, D., & Stasz, C. (1979). Visual sociology. In J. Wagner (Ed.), Images of information: Still photography in the social sciences (pp. 261-269). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Chickering, A.W., & Reisser, L. (1993). Education and identity (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Clay, C. A., & Sherrill, J. (1991). Racial violence on campus. In H. E. Cheatham & Associates, Cultural pluralism on campus (pp. 149-158). Alexandria, VA: American College Personnel Association.

Collier, J. (1979). Visual anthropology. In J. Wagner (Ed.), Images of information: Still photography in the social sciences (pp. 271-281). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Collier, J., Jr., & Collier, M. (1986). Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method (Rev. ed.). Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Committee on Policy for Racial Justice. (1993). The inclusive university: A new environment for higher education. Washington, DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

Crosson, P. H. (1988). Four-year colleges and university environments for minority achievement. The Review of Higher Education, 11, 356-382.

Dalton, , J. C. (1991). Racial and ethnic backlash in college peer culture. In J. C. Dalton (Ed.), Racism on campus: Confronting racial bias through peer interventions (New Directions for Student Services No. 56). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Davis, R. B. (1991). Social support networks and undergraduate student academic-success-related outcomes: A comparison of Black students on black and white campuses. In Allen, W. R., Epps, E. G., & Haniff, N. Z. (Eds.), College in black and white: African American students in predominantly white and in historically black public universities (pp. 143-157). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Dempsey, J. V., & Tucker, S. A. (1994). Using photo-interviewing as a tool for research and evaluation. Educational Technology, 34(4), 55-62.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). Interpretive interactionism (Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 16). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (1994). Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research (pp. 1-17). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

D'Souza, D. (1992) Illiberal education: The politics of race and sex on campus. New York: Vintage Books.

Ehrlich, H. J. (1990). Campus ethnoviolence and the policy options (Institute Report No. 4). Baltimore: National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence.

Feldman, K. A., & Newcomb, T. M. (1969/1994). The impact of college on students. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Fleming, J. (1984). Blacks in college. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gose, B. (1997, May 23). Minority enrollments rose in 1995, a study finds. The Chronicle of Higher Education, p. A38.

Green, M. F. (Ed.). (1989). Minorities on campus: A handbook for enhancing diversity. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

Griffin, O. T. (1992). The impacts of academic and social integration for Black students in higher education. In M. Lang & C. A. Ford (Eds.), Strategies for retaining minority students in higher education (pp. 25-44). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Harper, D. (1987). The visual ethnographic narrative. Visual Anthropology, 1, 1-19.

Harper, D. (1988, Spring). Visual sociology: Expanding sociological vision. The American Sociologist, 54-70.

Harper, D. (1994). On the authority of the image: Visual methods at the crossroads. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research (pp. 403-412). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Higher Education Research Institute (1995). The American freshman: National norms for fall 1995. Los Angeles: The Cooperative Institutional Research Program, University of California, Los Angeles.

Hurtado, S. (1992). The campus racial climate: Contexts of conflict. Journal of Higher Education, 63, 539-569.

Janke, D. (1982). The use and interpretation of visual evidence in evaluating environmental education programs. Journal of Environmental Education, 13, 41-43.

Jary, D., & Jary, J. (1991). The HarperCollins dictionary of sociology. New York: HarperCollins.

Kuh, G. D., Douglas, K. B., Lund, J. P., & Ramin-Gyurnek, J. (1994). Student learning outside the classroom: Transcending artificial boundaries (ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 8). Washington, DC: The George Washington University, School of Education and Human Development.

Lang, M. (1993). Should I choose a black college or an integrated college? In R. D. Higgins, C. B. Cook, W. J. Ekeler, R. M. Sawyer, & K. W. Prichard (Eds.), The Black student's guide to college success (pp. 9-15). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Levitz, R., & Noel, L. (1989). Connecting students to institutions: Keys to retention and success. In M. L. Upcraft, J. N. Gardner, & Associates, The freshman year experience: Helping students survive and succeed in college (pp. 65-81). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lewin, K. (1936). Principles of topological psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). Naturalistic inquiry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Livingston, M. D., & Stewart, M. A. (1987). Minority students on a white campus: Perception is truth. NASPA Journal, 24, 39-49.

Malaney, G. D., & Shively, M. (1995). Academic and social expectations and experiences of first-year students of color. NASPA Journal, 33, 3-18.

Mayo, J. R., Murguia, E., & Padilla, R. V. (1995). Social integration and academic performance among minority university students. Journal of College Student Development, 36, 542-552.

Mead, G. H. (1934). Mind, self, and society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Moos, R. (1976/1986). The human context: Environmental determinants of behavior. New York: Wiley.

Moos, R. (1979). Evaluating educational environments: Procedures, measures, findings, and policy implications. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Myers, S. L., Jr. (1997). Why diversity is a smoke screen for affirmative action. Change, 29(4), 24-32.

Mow, S. L., & Nettles, M. T. (1990). Minority student access to, and persistence and performance in, college: A review of the trends and research literature. In J. C. Smart (Ed.), Higher education: Handbook of theory and research, Vol. VI (pp. 35-105). New York: Agathon Press.

Office of the Registrar. (1995, October). 1995-96 fall enrollment report: A summary of first semester with a historical overview. [Willsfield University.]

Office of the Registrar. (1996, October). 1996-97 fall enrollment report: A summary of first semester with a historical overview. [Willsfield University.]

Pascarella, E., & Terenzini, P. (1991). How college affects students: Findings and insights from twenty years of research. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Pervin, L. (1967). A twenty-college study of student x college interaction using TAPE (Transactional Analysis of Personality and Environment): Rationale, reliability, and validity. Journal of Educational Psychology, 58, 290-302.

Pervin, L. (1968a). The college as a social system: Student perceptions of students, faculty, and administration. Journal of Educational Research, 61, 281-284.

Pervin, L. (1968b). Performance and satisfaction as a function of individual-environment fit. Psychological Bulletin, 69, 56-68.

Perka, P., Matherly, C., Fishman, D., & Ridge, R. (1992). Using photographs to examine environmental perceptions of African-American and White greek members: A qualitative study. College Student Affairs Journal, 12, 7-16.

Pounds, A. W. (1989) Black students. In M. L. Upcraft, J. N. Gardner, & Associates, The freshman year experience: Helping students survive and succeed in college (pp. 277--286). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rodgers, R. F. (1990). Recent theories and research underlying student development. In D. G. Creamer & Associates, College student development: Theory and practice for the 1990s (pp. 27-79). Alexandria, VA: American College Personnel Association.

Saddlemire, J. R. (1996). Qualitative study of White second-semester undergraduates' attitudes toward African American undergraduates at a predominantly white university. Journal of College Student Development, 37, 684-691.

Sanford, N. (1962). The American college. New York: Wiley.

Sanford, N. (1966). Self and society: Social change and individual development. New York: Atherton Press.

Sedlacek, W. E. (1987). Black students on white campuses: 20 years of research. Journal of College Student Personnel, 28, 484-495.

Stage, F. K., & Manning, K. (1992). Enhancing the multicultural campus environment: A cultural brokering approach (New Directions for Student Services, No. 60). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Stake, R. E. (1994). Case studies. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research (pp. 236-247). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stern, G. (1970). People in context: Measuring person-environment congruence in education and industry. New York: Wiley.

Strange, C. (1991). Managing college environments: Theory and practice. In T. Miller and R. Winston, Jr. (Eds.), Administration and leadership in students affairs (pp. 159-198). Muncie, IN: Accelerated Development.

Tierney, W. G. (1997). The parameters of affirmative action: Equity and excellence in the academy. Review of Educational Research, 67, 165-196.

Tinto, V. (1993). Leaving college: Rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition (2nd ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Willie, C. V., & Cunnigen, D. (1981). Black students in higher education: A review of studies, 1965-1980. In R. Turner & J. Short (Eds.), Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 7 (pp. 177-198). Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews.

Wilson, R. (1996). Educating for diversity. About Campus, May-June, pp. 4-9, 30.

Wolcott, H. F. (1990). Writing up qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.